292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

292 The feather skirt was called čo ñiš (M. and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165]
237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´'ɨts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.
237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nɨt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by
302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yɨn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin-
[177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.).
[757] Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

622 A particular and constant source of fi-
624 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

622 Informants like to refer to the chief's
556 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 124 a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed [426] money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana'nič and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu'us. (The

[P. 125 a] Western Mono NS25

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'l) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka·suwaš.

Y [224] [558]

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Y [756]

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Y [426]

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769 648 767

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[p. 131a] Wukchumni

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 During the afternoon the host chief and
426 his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´ʼiǎna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´ʼinad mai hočao´iǎna mayːn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao´ʼiǎna mayːn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony
756 was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
789 because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kasyu´ñːt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyːš. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kːš) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have [431] so many days to come up here." J.R. further stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they [184 should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the ● 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 238 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 ●786 There was no money exchange for interest (lakʰna´nʰč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak·na´n·č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni·ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō·'o ka·maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).